PUBLICATIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE
KAZYS PAKŠTAS, Director and Managing Editor
Section I : LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
Edited by ALFRED SENN
No. 2.

The Lithuanian Language

A Characterization

By
ALFRED SENN
University of Pennsylvania

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
December, 1942

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Chicago, Illinois

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PROF. KAZYS PAKŠTAS, Director

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dedicated

To

MARIJA VEDLUGAITĖ SENNIENĖ

My Life Companion

And Teacher

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I

INTRODUCTION

It is now almost twenty years ago that the author, on one of his frequent railroad trips between Lithuania and Switzerland, met a highly intelligent and very cultured newspaper reporter who told him the following story. A former Russian Consul General at Calcutta, India, had a Lithuanian maid. Soon after their arrival at Calcutta, this Lithuanian woman went to the market in order to make some purchases for the kitchen. Her mistress was greatly worried about the errand, because neither she nor any other member of her household knew the language of the country. She thought that her maid, who was clever and shrewd, as Lithuanians usually are, would probably find some way to make herself understood. Still she was worried. To her great surprise, her maid returned from the market very soon, much sooner than expected. And she came back jubilant, because, so she told her mistress, her words had been understood and she, in turn, had easily grasped the meaning of what everyone said.

This tale has its source in the true observation made by linguists that there exists a surprising similarity between modern Lithuanian and ancient Sanskrit. But Sanskrit is now a dead language and not used any longer in colloquial speech. To be sure, the language of modern Calcutta goes back to Sanskrit, just as Italian or French or Spanish developed from ancient Latin, but this modern language has undergone so many vital changes during the last 2000 years that former similarities with Lithuanian have been completely obliterated.

At a very early date it was also recognized that there are striking similarities with Latin and Greek. Of course, Lithuanians studying Latin could not fail to be amazed by such similarities as the following:

Lithuanian	*vyras* "man"	Latin	*vir*
"	*pekus* "cattle"	"	*pecus*
"	*dantys* "teeth"	"	*dentes*
"	*naktys* "nights"	"	*noctes*
"	*ugnis* "fire"	"	*ignis*
"	*diena* "day"	"	*diēs*
"	*dievas* "god"	"	*deus*
"	*trys* "three"	"	*trēs*
"	*keturi* "four"	"	*quattuor*
"	*senas* "old"	"	*senex* "old man"
"	*duoti* "to give"	"	*dare*
"	*traukti* "to draw"	"	*trahere*
"	*vežti* "to cart"	"	*vehere*

Lithuanians could even form complete sentences in their own language which sounded like Latin. No wonder therefore that as early as the fifteenth century a legend popped up and held on tenaciously for a long time, according to which the Lithuanians were descendants of Roman colonists. The Latin name *Lituani* "Lithuanians" was explained as a corruption of *L'Italiani* "the Italians".

The present writer endeavors to describe the place of the Lithuanian language by using the exact methods developed by linguistic science during the last century. Having lived in Lithuania for nine years (1921-1930), he is intimately acquainted with the language and literature, history and culture of the Lithuanian people.

The Lithuanians are a nation of proud cultural achievements and of high hopes for the future. They are justly proud of their language, which, despite its conservative character, is as modern as our modern world. You can express and discuss in the Lithuanian language anything that our civilization requires you to say, the most intricate problems of mathematics, philosophy, military science, etc. It is the most vigorous expression of a strong and modern nation, a nation marching in the front-line of modern culture. Such a nation deserves to be saved from destruction. Its preservation is a gain for mankind and culture.

II

THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AREA

A conservative estimate made in 1928 placed the number of people speaking the Lithuanian language as their mother tongue at approximately three million. This number has considerably increased since that time. Moreover, due to its function as the administrative language of the Republic of Lithuania, Lithuanian is also used in everyday life by many whose mother tongue is Yiddish, Polish, German, etc. According to Professor Kazys Pakštas, present-day Lithuania, including the Vilna Region but excluding the Memel Region and the District of Seinai, has about 3,200,000 inhabitants. Outside of Lithuania proper the language is widely spoken in East Prussia, while there are only a few Lithuanian communities on Latvian soil. Part of the Vilna Region held by the Poles for two decades was returned to Lithuania by the Soviet authorities in 1939, to which the Germans added two more districts (Svyriai and Ašmena). This eastward expansion has not yet been internationally recognized. The European area having a majority of Lithuanian speakers covers about 30,000 sq. miles.

The number of Lithuanians living overseas is estimated by Professor Pakštas at approximately 800,000, about 650,000 of them in the United States, mostly in the industrial centers of the East and Middle West. Large Lithuanian colonies are also to be found in Brazil (40,000), Argentina (35,000), Uruguay (10,000), Canada (10,000), and Great Britain (12,000). Before 1939 there were about 40,000 Lithuanians living in Soviet Russia. A new Lithuanian colony was established in Siberia when in June 1941 many thousands were resettled there by the Russian authorities.

Thus, Lithuanian is now spoken as the mother tongue or used as the business language in everyday life by about 3,800,000 persons all over the world.

III
LITHUANIAN DIALECTS

Although the Lithuanian language area is relatively small, there are many local variations. There is first of all a division into *aukštaičių tarmė* "High Lithuanian dialect or Aukshtaitish" and *žemaičių tarmė* "Low Lithuanian dialect or Shamaitish" (also called "Samogitian") both of which are further divided into several subdialects. Here is a table giving the now accepted dialect classification:

S h a m a i t i s h (*žemaičių tarmė*)

1. Memel Shamaitish (*žemaičiai klaipėdiečiai*)
2. Telšiai Shamaitish (*žemaičiai telšiečiai*)
3. Raseiniai Shamaitish (*žemaičiai raseiniečiai*)

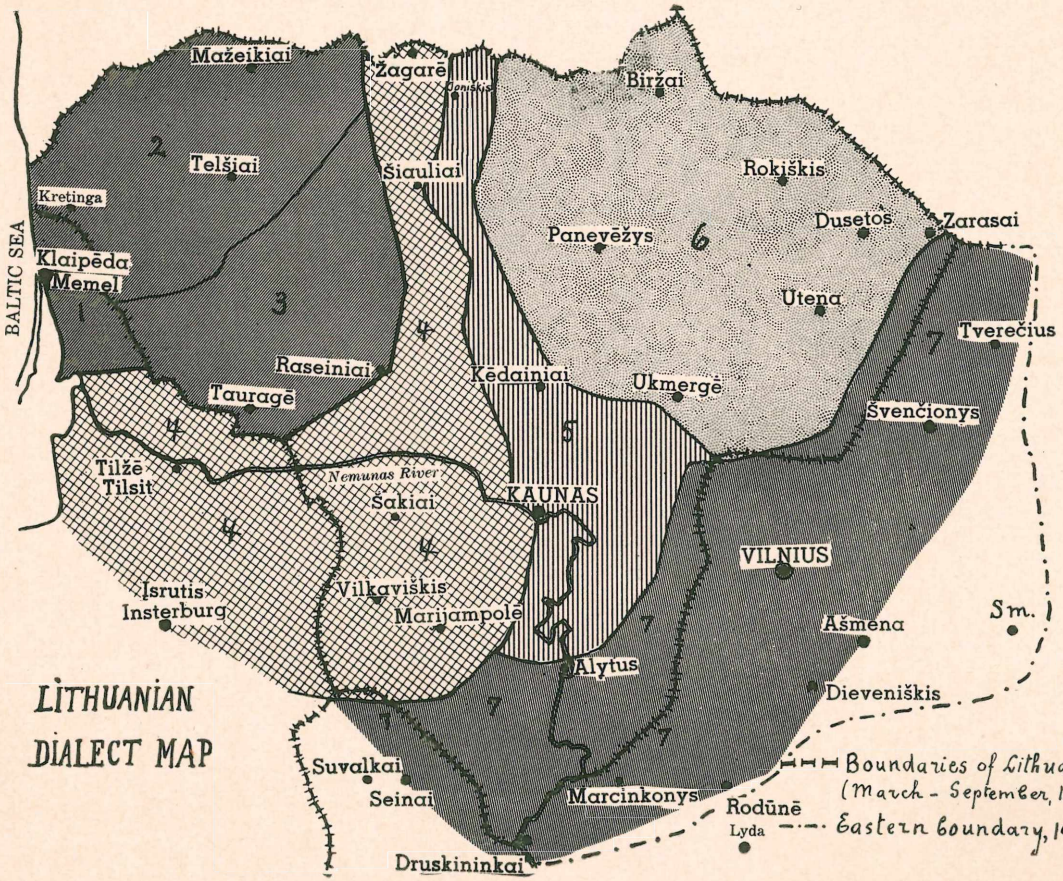
A u k s h t a i t i s h (*aukštaičių tarmė*)

4. West Aukshtaitish (*aukštaičiai vakariečiai*)
   a) Northern Subdialect (*vakariečiai žiemiečiai* or *šiauriečiai*)
   b) Southern Subdialect (*vakariečiai pietiečiai*)
5. Middle Aukshtaitish (*aukštaičiai viduriečiai*)
6. East Aukshtaitish (*aukštaičiai rytiečiai*)
7. Dzukish (*dzūkai*).

Standard Lithuanian is based on the southern branch of dialect 4.

Aukshtaitish is in the main more archaic than Shamaitish, which differs primarily in the treatment of *uo* and *ie*. These Aukštaitish diphthongs appear as close long *ō* and close long *ē* in Memel Shamaitish, as *ou* and *ei* in Telšiai Shamaitish, and as long *ū* and long *ī* in Raseiniai Shamaitish, e. g.,

Aukshtaitish	*duona* "bread"	*pienas* "milk"
Memel Shamaitish	*dōna*	*pēns*
Telšiai Shamaitish	*douna*	*peins*
Raseiniai Shamaitish	*dūna*	*pīns*


Mažeikiai
Žagarė
Joniškis
Biržai
Telšiai
Šiauliai
Rokiškis
Kretinga
Panevėžys
Dusetos
Zarasai
BALTIC SEA
Klaipėda
Memel
Utena
Tverečius
Raseiniai
Kėdainiai
Ukmergė
Tauragė
Švenčionys
Tilžė
Tilsit
Nemunas River
KAUNAS
Šakiai
VILNIUS
Įsrutis
Insterburg
Vilkaviškis
Marijampolė
Ašmena
Sm.
Alytus
Dieveniškis
LITHUANIAN
DIALECT MAP
Suvalkai
Boundaries of Lithuania
(March - September, 1939).
Seinai
Marcinkonys
Rodūnė
Lyda
Eastern boundary, 1942.
Druskininkai

Dialects 6 and 7 have *ū ī um un im in* instead of standard Lithuanian *ą ę am an em en*. They have also hard *ł* before *ė* in contrast to palatal *l'* in the other dialects.

Dzukish (originally a nickname) comprises those regions where they pronounce *dź ć* before *i y ie*, instead of standard Lithuanian *d t*, e. g.,

Standard Lithuanian		*tikras* "real"	:	Dzukish	*ćikras*
"	"	*dievas* "god"	:	"	*dźievas*
"	"	*matyti* "to see"	:	"	*maćyć*

Dzukish has also *ć* and *dź* for palatal *č* (=*či*) and *dž* (=*dži*), e. g.,

Standard Lithuanian		*čia* "here"	:	Dzukish	*ća*
"	"	*apačia* "lower part"	:	"	*apaća*
"	"	*džiaugsmas* "joy"	:	"	*dźiauksmas*

There are certain phenomena characteristic only of a limited area, but fully or partly shared by the adjoining foreign language. Thus for instance all along the northern border from west to east, there is retraction of the word accent, making a gradual transition from standard Lithuanian with its free accent to Lettish which has the main stress fixed on the first syllable. The Dzukish characteristics described above cannot be disconnected from Polish *ć* and *dź*. The change of *ą* to *ū* and of *am an* to *um un* in the eastern regions cannot fail to remind us of a similar change in Russian. The general distinction between velar or hard *ł* and palatal *l'* is extremely pronounced in the eastern regions but almost negligible in the westernmost dialects, which reflects the difference between Russian and Polish on the one hand and German on the other.

This observation should be of interest to linguists in general. It suggests that neighboring languages may have identical phonetic changes, although they differ morphologically so much from each other that they are not mutually intelligible. If we compare these parallel Lithuanian-Lettish, Lithuanian-Polish, and Lithuanian-Russian developments with the increasing

disparity between Swiss Dutch and the adjacent South German dialects, we must come to the conclusion that political geography plays a most important role in the history of language. The erection of political boundaries between Switzerland and Germany gradually created also a language frontier, while on the other hand in Lithuania and the neighboring countries political unification led to gradual assimilation of completely different languages.

IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE

An American who wishes to study Lithuanian has to take several hurdles before he is able fully to enjoy the wealth of beauty contained in this most beautiful language. He will find a phonetic system quite different from the one with which he grew up. The Lithuanian alphabet consists of 32 letters: *a ą c č d e ę ė f g h i į y j k l m n o p r s š t u ų ū v z ž*. However, the symbols *f h ch* appear only in foreign words. For the foreign sounds *f* and *ch* which occur in Russian, Polish, and German words, the Lithuanians usually substitute *p* and *k*, while *h* can be dropped completely. All consonants, except *j* (=*y* as in *yesterday*), have a double pronunciation, a hard or velar and a soft or palatalized one. Before front vowels (*e ę ė i į y ie*) consonants are always palatalized, although the modern spelling does not indicate this explicitly. If however a soft consonant is followed by a back vowel (*a ą o u ų ū uo*), its soft character is indicated in writing by an inserted *i*, e. g., *kelias, liautis, kiauras*. While *b d g* are pronounced very much like the corresponding English consonants, *p t k* differ definitely by their lack of aspiration. There are roughly speaking eleven different vowels (monophthongs) in Lithuanian, which are written the following way:

short *a* (like German or Italian *a*) = *a;*
long *ā* = *a, ą;*
very open short *e* (as in Eng. *hat*) = *e;*
very open long *ē* (as in Eng. *glad*) = *e, ę;*
close long *ē* = *ė;*
short *i* (as in Eng. *he*) = *i;*
long *ī* (as in Eng. *heed*) = *į, y;*
open short *o* (only in foreign words) = *o;*
close long *ō* = *o;*
short *u* (as in Eng. *cook*) = *u;*
long *ū* (as in Eng. *food*) = *ų, ū.*

All these vowels are clear-cut and without any diphthongization. The following vowels do not exist in standard Lithuanian : close short *e*, open long *ō*, close short *o*.

Lithuanian is a highly inflected language. In its standard form it has seven cases : nominative, vocative, genetive, dative, accusative, instrumenal, and locative, while some dialects have yet an eighth case, namely a directive or illative. There are three numbers : singular, plural, and dual. However, the use of the dual number, which denotes two persons or things only, is optional. In the nominative singular the nouns, which are grouped into five declensions, have one of the following endings : *-as, -is* (genetive *-io*), *-ys, -a, -ė, -i, -is* (genetive *-ies*), *-us, -uo*. There are only two grammatical genders : masculine and feminine. Some traces of the Indo-European neuter gender are preserved in the adjective, but only in the nominative singular and used only predicatively. No article is used with nouns. Therefore, *moteris* may mean "the woman", "a woman", or merely "woman". In this, Lithuanian agrees with Latin and the Slavic languages. Adjectives appear in two forms : indefinite and definite. The language is unexpectedly progressive in the formation of the comparative and superlative degrees of the adjectives and adverbs, there being no irregular comparison.

The inherited verbal system is simplified to some extent. There are only four simple tenses : present, future (formed with *-s-*), preterit (or past), and imperfect (or habitual preterit). Each of these tenses forms only an indicative. There is only one subjunctive (derived from the infinitive) for all tenses. In addition, there are remainders of the optative. The imperative is formed from the infinitive. The infinitive always ends in *-ti*. For the purpose of emphasis a second infinitive with the ending *-te* is available. In addition, there is a supine derived from the infinitive. The language is rich in participles and in this respect reminds us of ancient Sanskrit. There are two sets of participles (active and passive) for the present, future, and preterit, while the imperfect has only an active participle. There is also a gerund for each of the four tenses. In addition, there is a half-participle used only in the nominative. The passive participles are used for the formation of the passive voice. Like the Slavic and the early Teutonic languages, Lithuanian makes a rigid distinction between durative and perfective aspects, but it differs by not using the perfective aspect as a substitute for the future tense. The reflexive verb is highly developed. While in the main the

Lithuanian verb continues the Primitive Indo-European ō-conjugation (thematic verbs), there are some traces of the *mi*-conjugation (athematic verbs). As in the declension, there are three numbers (singular, plural, dual) also in the conjugation (dual optional). On the other hand, there is only one form for the third person of the three numbers in all tenses and moods.

Vowel gradation (Ablaut) is a productive factor in the formation of words, but the number of variations in the three principal ablaut series has been considerably increased by "ablaut deviation".

Lithuanian is extremely rich in diminutives and endearing forms which are derived from nouns and adjectives alike. Diminutive nouns may express either smallness or affection or even contempt, while diminutive adjectives are used to denote a high degree of a quality (intensification). The strong emotional appeal of the diminutives supplies the language with effective poetic expressions and gives the Lithuanian folk songs their highly lyrical character.

The diminutive suffix *-aitis* was formerly used to form patronymics, e. g., *Adomaitis* = the son of *Adomas* "Adam", *Antanaitis* = the son of *Antanas* "Anthony", *Petraitis* = the son of *Petras* "Peter". Today the masculine forms in *-aitis* have all become permanent, i. e., hereditary surnames. However, the feminine suffix *-aitė* (besides *-ytė, -utė, -ūtė*) is still officially used to form the surnames of little girls and unmarried women, while the surnames of married women end always in *-ienė*. Here are a few examples :

Mr.	Mrs.	Miss
Vabalas	*Vabalienė*	*Vabalaitė*
Žukauskas	*Žukauskienė*	*Žukauskaitė*
Varkala	*Varkalienė*	*Varkalaitė*
Antanaitis	*Antanaitienė*	*Antanaitytė*
Variakojis	*Variakojienė*	*Variakojytė*
Gudavičius	*Gudavičienė*	*Gudavičiutė*

As a result, no woman can hide her marital status. From her very name one can see whether she is married or not. No such provision is made for men.

Other genuine Lithuanian suffixes, beside *-aitis*, originally used to form patronymics are *-onis* and *-ūnas*, e. g., *Grigonis* = *Grigaitis* "the son of Gregory", *Petronis* = *Petraitis* "the son of Peter", *Morkūnas* "the son of Marc", *Valančiūnas* "the son of Valentine". On the other hand, the suffixes *-auskas*, *-avičius*, and *-evičius*, which occur quite frequently in Lithuanian family names, are of Polish or White Russian origin (where they originally had patronymic meaning), e. g., *Rakauskas*=Polish *Rakowski*, *Garbačiauskas* = Polish *Herbaczewski*, *Gudavičius* = Polish *Gudowicz*, *Mickevičius* = Polish (from White Russian) *Mickiewicz*.

Surnames in their plural form are widely used as official names for inhabited places, homesteads, hamlets, and peasant villages. Probably about half of the Lithuanian place-names are derived from the names of original settlers. The percentage of surnames in names of inhabited places is especially high in Suvalkija. Of the 39 place-names occurring in the township of Vilkaviškis, 37 appear in the plural form, and in the township of Sintautai the corresponding figures are 55 and 51. Quite frequent are place-names indicating the location near a river, a forest, a swamp, etc., e. g., *Panemunė* "On-the-Nemunas", *Panevėžys* "On-the-Nevėžis", *Pašušvys* "On-the-Šušvė", *Pagirys* "Near-the-Forest, *Pašilys* "Near-the-Grove", *Užpelkis* or *Užubalis* "Behind-the-Swamp".

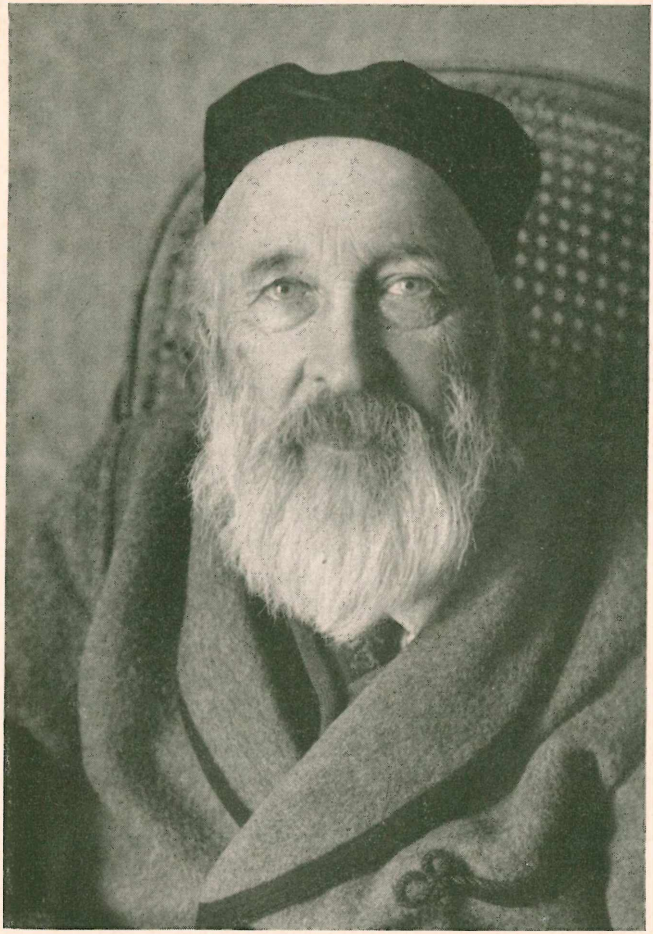
The Lithuanian vocabulary is immensely rich. It abounds in onomatopoetic formations and expressions imitating the sounds of nature, a circumstance which gives the language highly poetic qualities, making it very melodious. No dictionary can ever be comprehensive enough to include all Lithuanian words, because the language is possessed of a continually productive creative power. New words are now mostly made by means of composition. Only two stems are joined together in forming compounds, which are either possessive (*bahuvrīhi*) or determinative (*tatpuruša*) in character. The two types of compounds are usually distinguished from each other by different accentuation, e. g.,

POSSESSIVE	DETERMINATIVE
trikam·pis "triangular"	*tri·kampis* "triangle"
didgal·vis "having a large head"	*did·galis* "a large piece (of something)"

Word order is extremely free, like in Latin, with the restriction, however, that the attributive adjective and the attributive genetive precede the noun which they modify. Interrogative sentences start with the interrogative particle *ar*, but have otherwise the same word order as sentences of affirmation.

- - -

Many men have contributed to the creation of the modern standard language, but none more than the grammarian Jonas Jablonskis (1861-1930), who wrote under the assumed name of Rygiškių Jonas and is revered as the "father of the modern Lithuanian standard language". Casimir Būga (1879-1924), on the other hand, was the greatest Lithuanian scholar in the field of historical and comparative linguistics.



PROF. JONAS JABLONSKIS, (1861-1930)

"Father of the Lithuanian Standard Language"

Born in Kubiliai, township of Bubleliai, Šakiai County. He wrote under various names but in his later years preferred *Rygiškių Jonas*. Everybody recognized his authority in questions of grammar, students and university professors, as well as the entire Ministry of Public Instruction with the entire school system of the state. The University of Lithuania bestowed on him its highest distinction, the title of "Honorary Professor" (Lietuvos Unversiteto garbės profesorius). Cf. J. Balčikonis, *Jono Jablonskio Raštai*. 5 vols., Kaunas 1933-1936.

V

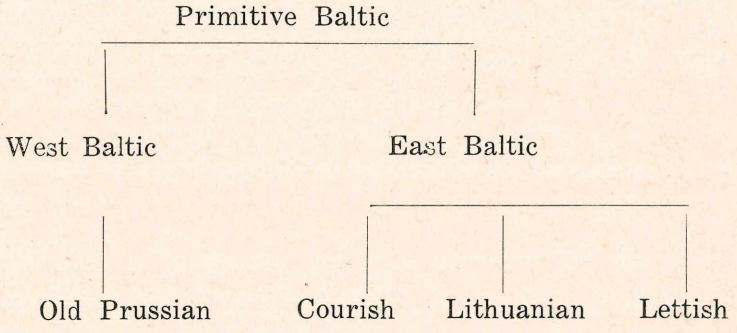
THE BALTIC LANGUAGES

The nearest relative of the *Lithuanian* language is *Lettish,* the official language of the Republic of Latvia. The two languages together form the *Baltic Linguistic Group,* so called on account of the proximity of the Baltic Sea. However, not all languages spoken along the shores of the Baltic Sea belong to the group of Baltic languages. Finnish and Estonian are members of the Finno-Ugrian family, while German, Danish, and Swedish are Teutonic.

Several hundred years ago there were more Baltic languages. All, except Lithuanian and Lettish, disappeared in the course of time. Of the Baltic languages which are now extinct, the most important ones were *Old Prussian* and *Courish* (or *Couronian*). Courish, which died out around 1600 A. D., was spoken in the western part of present-day Latvia (*Courland*) and in the northwestern part of Lithuania. It succumbed to the westward drive of the Letts and the Lithuanians. Old Prussian was spoken in the now German provinces of East and West Prussia and in the so-called Suvalkija, i. e., the region south and west of the Nemunas River and east of the German-Lithuanian state-line, including the present Lithuanian districts of Šakiai, Vilkaviškis, Marijampolė, Seinai, parts of the districts of Kaunas and Alytus, furthermore the districts of Suwalki and Augustowo. Very early the Lithuanians occupied Suvalkija and assimilated the Old Prussians who had lived there. In East and West Prussia the Old Prussian language fell victim to the eastward expansion of the Germans. Its last speakers died in the second half of the seventeenth century. The name of the original Prussians remained, but assumed a new meaning. It was transferred from the conquered people to the conquerors. As a result of this development, the term *Prussian* is today commonly used to designate the inhabitants of the German state of Prussia or the German dialects spoken in the provinces of East and West Prussia, while *Old Prussian* refers to the language of the original Baltic Prussians.

Of the four original Baltic languages, Old Prussian stands somewhat alone, while Lithuanian, Lettish, and Courish have

much in common, which shows that they are more closely related to each other than to Old Prussian. The Baltic languages are therefore divided into an eastern and a western branch: *East Baltic* and *West Baltic*. All Baltic languages, however, go back to a common parent language, called *Primitive Baltic* which was still spoken about the time of Jesus Christ. Very soon the Prussians broke away from the Primitive Baltic unity and developed a dialect of their own which gradually became more and more independent: West Baltic. The rest of the Baltic people still stayed together for several hundred years, speaking East Baltic. Beginning with the sixth century A. D., the East Baltic unity too broke up. In the tenth century, Lettish is already clearly distinct from Lithuanian. Here is a diagram describing the relationship of the Baltic languages:



The original home of the Baltic people was to the east of present-day Lithuania and Latvia. In the sixth or seventh century A. D. they were forced by the onrushing Slavs to move westward. In their new homes they replaced a Finnish population.

VI

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

Just as the modern Baltic languages are daughters of Primitive Baltic, this language in turn was a daughter of an even older parent language, usually called *Primitive Indo-European.* This original language of the so-called Indo-Europeans was spoken between 3000 and 1500 B. C. in a long stretch of land extending from France eastward through Central Europe and deep into Asia. It had some sister languages, one of which, namely *Hittite,* spoken in Asia Minor, is known to us from cuneiform inscriptions that begin around 1900 B. C. We are now even able to reconstruct a hypothetical language, called *Indo-Hittite* or *Primitive Indo-Hittite,* the common parent language of Primitive Indo-European and Hittite.

Within its own Indo-European family, the Primitive Baltic language had at least eleven sisters, namely, *Celtic* (including Irish and Welsh), *Teutonic, Ligurian, Italic* (parent language of Latin which in turn was succeeded by the various Romance languages), *Greek, Albanian, Thraco-Phrygian, Slavic, Armenian, Indo-Iranian* or *Aryan* (including Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Avesta), and *Tokharian* (an extinct Asiatic language spoken up to the seventh century A. D.). The distinguished Danish scholar Holger Pedersen considers also Hittite as an immediate member of the Indo-European family and not merely as an older relative ("aunt"), as the American E. H. Sturtevant does.

By painstaking comparison it has become possible to reconstruct the Primitive Indo-European parent language. This hypothetical language resembles the oldest forms of Sanskrit and Greek to a great degree. However, among the Indo-European languages still spoken today, it is Lithuanian which shows the most archaic character. It has preserved many old forms which have disappeared elsewhere. It is this archaic appearance of Lithuanian which makes its study so attractive to students of comparative linguistics.

Until recently it was generally believed that at one time the *Baltic* and *Slavic* languages had formed a unity of undivided speech within the Indo-European family. However, this theory

can no longer be maintained. Baltic and Slavic must be regarded as two different branches which, after the disintegration of Primitive Indo-European, had each its own independent development. Baltic stands independently beside Slavic and Teutonic. It shares certain innovations with Slavic and others with Teutonic. When the Primitive Indo-European unity dissolved, the Balts and Slavs became separated from each other, and only about a thousand years later did they become neighbors once more. During this period of separation Baltic had become a distinct language by itself with its own characteristics. It was more conservative than Slavic which had undergone a great number of changes. A characteristic difference between Baltic and Slavic is the treatment of final *-s*, which was lost in Slavic but preserved in Baltic. Other important phonetic, morphological, and lexical differences between the two groups have been pointed out by the prominent French scholar Antoine Meillet. Suffice it to mention here two of them: The extreme difference between the two verbal systems and the absence in Primitive Baltic of the secondary palatalization of consonants which utterly changed Slavic phonetics. The secondary palatalization actually found in Lithuanian and Lettish is an independent development of more recent date, which furthermore either remained incomplete or was of a different type. Thus, e. g., the main part of the Low Lithuanian dialects was not affected by the change of *tj dj* to *č dž*, as can be seen from a comparison of standard Lithuanian *mačiau* "I saw" and the corresponding Low Lithuanian form *matiau*.

In the sixth century A. D. the Slavs began to exert a powerful influence upon Lithuanian and this influence (first White Russian, then Polish, and finally Great Russian) continued for over 1400 years. No wonder, therefore, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century foreign scholars, studying the Lithuanian language for the purpose of comparative linguistics, found in it many elements which were outright Slavic or at least reminded them of Slavic. We have here a striking parallel with the modern English language which has accepted an enormous number of French and Latin expressions and yet is still considered a Teutonic language. The theory of a Balto-Slavic unity

owes its origin largely to the prominence attributed by the above-mentioned linguists to the literary language of the 16th-18th centuries which was replete with Polish loanwords. It should also be remembered that before 1918 Lithuanian had at no time enjoyed the protection offered by the status of being an officially established state or school language. And yet in spite of all these inequities of history, the Lithuanian people kept their spoken language pure and unadulterated. What Slavic elements had entered it in the course of time were eliminated during the nineteenth century and replaced by native forms. As a result the present-day standard language is free of all unnecessary foreign words. It is more Lithuanian than the literary jargon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But even at that time Slavic influence upon Lithuanian was far less significant for the linguistic structure than the foreign influence evident in English. It would be a hard job to eliminate now from the English vocabulary all non-Teutonic elements without impairing the expressiveness of the language.

The most important similarity between Baltic and Slavic, as against Teutonic, is the treatment of a certain type of Indo-European *k* and *g* sounds, the so-called palatals (Cf. Chapter VII). In Lithuanian they appear as *š* and *ž*, in Lettish and Slavic as *s* and *z*, while in Teutonic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Tokharian they preserved their guttural character. Here are a few examples:

Greek *he-katon* "hundred", Latin *centum* (pronounce *kentum*) : Lithuanian *šimtas*, Lettish *simts*, Sanskrit *šatam*, Avesta *satem;*

Greek *deka* "ten", Latin *decem* (pronounce *dekem*) : Lithuanian *dešimtis*, Lettish *desmit*, Old Church Slavic *deseti*, Sanskrit *daša;*

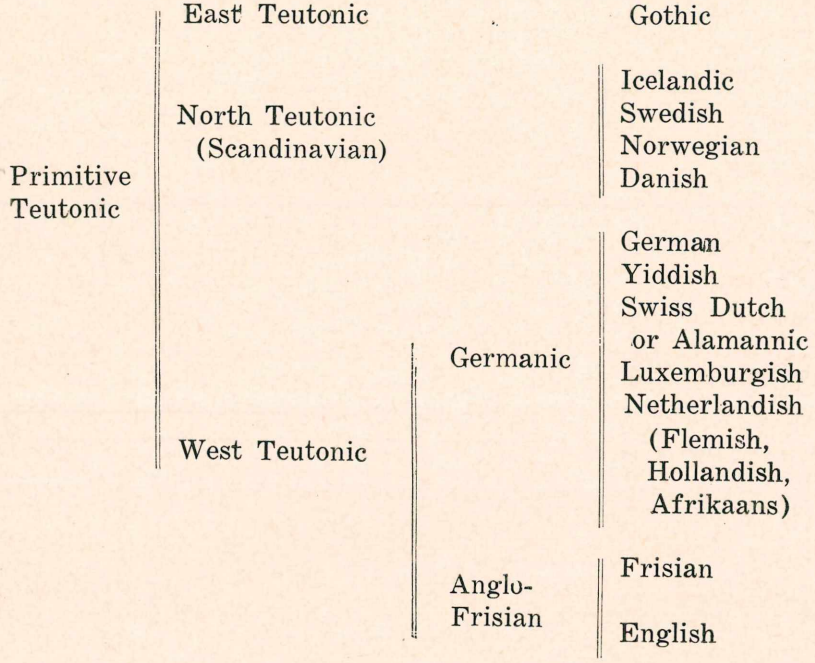
Latin *grānum* "grain" : Lithuanian *žirnis* "pea", Lettish *zirnis* "pea", Old Church Slavic *zrino*, Sanskrit *jīrnas.*

This sound change originated before the disintegration of the Primitive Indo-European unity and brought about the first dialect division. It started somewhere in the center of the language area, worked wave-like in all directions, and conquered those parts which later became Slavic, Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Albanian, and Baltic, the so-called *satem* languages (Cf. Avesta *satem* "hundred"). It did not reach the easternmost member, Tokharian, nor the western branches, namely, Greek, Italian, Teutonic, and Celtic, the so-called *kentum* languages (Cf. Latin *centum* "hundred"). By the time when this wave reached the Lithuanian area, it had lost much of its original force, and a number of Lithuanian words, which are expected to show the new sound, remained unchanged.

VII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LITHUANIAN AND ENGLISH

English is a Teutonic language. The following diagram explains its position within the Teutonic branch.



While at the earliest stage Primitive Teutonic did not yet differ much from Primitive Baltic, except for the general difference between *kentum* and *satem* languages, around 500 B. C. it underwent radical changes, which affected primarily the consonant system. Primitive Indo-European had the following stops:

	Voiceless	Voiced	Aspirated
Labials	p	b	bh
Dentals	t	d	dh
Gutturals:			
Palatals	k'	g'	g'h
Velars	k	g	gh
Labio-Velars	kw	gw	ghw

The guttural group was simplified both in the *kentum* and the *satem* languages, the former changing all palatals to velars and the latter changing all labio-velars to velars. Thus, Primitive Teutonic at its earliest stage possessed only velars and labio-velars, while Primitive Baltic at the same time had only velars and palatals. The further development of the palatals in the *satem* languages has been discussed in the preceding chapter. In addition to the changes discussed there, Baltic reduced the Primitive Indo-European aspirated stops *bh dh g'h gh* to the non-aspirated voiced stops *b d ž* (*z*) *g*. In Primitive Teutonic on the other hand all Primitive Indo-European stops were changed. We get the following table :

Primitive Indo-European	Lithuanian	Primitive Teutonic	English
p	p	f	f
		v	v
t	t	th	th
		d (fricative)	d
k'	š	ch (>h)	h
k	k	g (fricative)	g, y
b	b	p	p
d	d	t	t
g'	ž	k	k
g	g		
bh	b	v	v, b
dh	d	d (fricative)	d
g'h	ž	g (fricative)	g, y
gh	g		

In this table the labio-velars were disregarded because their development in Teutonic is that of regular velars followed by a *w*. At the time when this Teutonic consonant shift took place, Primitive Teutonic still had preserved the Primitive Indo-European free accent, i. e., not all of the inflectional forms of the word had the main stress on the same syllable and any syllable could be the bearer of the main stress of the word. This accent system influenced the development of the Primitive Indo-European voiceless stops *p t k*. Normally they became voiceless fricatives (*f th ch*). However, in medial or final position, those voiceless fricatives were changed to the voiced fricatives *v d g*, if the immediately preceding syllable was unaccented.

E x a m p l e s

Primitive Indo-European	Sanskrit	Lithuanian	Latin	English
p :				
pēd-|pōd-	*pāt*	*pėda*	*pēs (pedis)*	*foot*
penkwe	*panca*	*penki*	*quinque*	*five*
septm	*sapta*	*septyni*	*septem*	*seven*
t :				
trejes	*trayas*	*trys*	*trēs (trīs)*	*three*
māter- "mother"	*mātā* "mother"	*moteris* "woman" *motina* "mother"	*māter* "mother"	*mother*
k' :				
k' mtom "hundred"	*šatam*	*šimtas*	*centum*	*hund-red*
k'elb-|k'elp-		*šelpti* "to help"		*help*

dek'm- "decade"	*daša* "10"	*dešimtis* "10"	*decem* "10"	*-ty* in *twenty, thirty,* etc.
k :				
kolnos		*kalnas*	*collis*	*hill*
kenk-/konk-		*kanka* "pain, suffering" *kankinti* "to torture" *kenkti* "to harm"		*hunger*
kw :				
kwos	*kas*	*kas*	*quis*	*who*
kēkwo-	*šāka-* "vegetable"	*šėkas* "green hay"		*hay*
kwetwōres	*catvāras*	*keturi*	*quattuor*	*four*
b :				
dheub-		*dubus*		*deep*
k'leub-		*šlubas* "lame"		*leap*
d :				
deiwos "god"	*dēvas*	*dievas*	*dīvus* "divine" *Jū-piter*	*Tues-day*
dwōu	*dvau*	*du, dvi*	*duo*	*two*
ed-	*admi* "I eat"	*ėdu* "I eat"	*edo* "I eat"	*eat*
g' :				
bherg'- "birch"	*bhūrjas*	*beržas*		*birch* (through *berk*)
melg'-	*mrkšati* "he strokes, rubs"	*melžu* "I milk (a cow)"	*mulgēre* "to milk"	*milk*

g :				
jugo-	*yugam*	*jungas*	*iugum*	*yoke*
gw :				
gwīwos "alive"	*jīvas*	*gyvas*	*vīvus*	*quick*
gwem- "to come"	*gacchati* "he comes"	*gimti* "to be born"	*venīre* "to come"	*come* (through *queman*)
gwernā | *gwrnu-* "hand-mill"		*girnos*		*quern*
bh :				
bheu- "to be"	*bhavati* "he is"	*būti* "to be"	*fui* "I have been"	*be*
bhrāter-	*bhrātā*	*brolis*	*frāter*	*brother*
dh :				
dhughəter	*duhitā*	*duktė*		*daughter*
dhoghos | *dhegh-* "*to burn*"	*dahati* "it burns"	*dagas* "heat" *degti* "to burn"		*day*
g'h :				
g'hel- "yellow, greenish" | *g'hol-* | *g'hlto-*	*haris* "yellow"	*želti* "to become verdant, to sprout" *žalias* "green" *žolė* "grass" Lett. *zēlts* "gold"		*yellow*
gh :				
dhoghos "heat"		*dagas* "heat"		*day*
rughjo- "rye"		*rugys*		*rye*

This word list shows how much more the English forms differ from the original Indo-European forms than the Lithuanian ones, which in many instances, though not always, resemble the original pattern very closely. The resemblance between Lithuanian and Teutonic is far more striking, if instead of English we take Gothic which was written in the fourth century A. D. For a comparison we put here side by side a Gothic and a Lithuanian paradigm of the Indo-European *u*- and *ā*-stems, namely Gothic *sunus* "son", Lithuanian *sūnus* "son", and Gothic *giba* "gift", Lithuanian *ranka* "hand".

	Gothic		*Lithuanian*	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*sunus*	*sunjus*	*sūnus*	*sūnūs*
Gen.	*sunaus*	*suniwe*	*sūnaus*	*sūnų*
Dat.	*sunau*	*sunum*	*sūnui*	*sūnums*
Acc.	*sunu*	*sununs*	*sūnų*	*sūnus*

	Gothic		*Lithuanian*	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*giba*	*gibos*	*ranka*	*rankos*
Gen.	*gibos*	*gibo*	*rankos*	*rankų*
Dat.	*gibai*	*gibom*	*rankai*	*rankoms*
Acc.	*giba*	*gibos*	*ranką*	*rankas*

— — — —

The picture represented here by the development of the Primitive Indo-European conosonants — extreme conservatism in Lithuanian against far advanced evolution in English — is repeated in the vowel system. However, while in the development of the consonants the Baltic languages side with Slavic (except for the treatment of final *-s*), in the treatment of the vowels they are decidedly on the Teutonic side. With early Teutonic they share the rigid adherence to the contrast between short and long vowels. In Slavic the difference in quantity was first lessened and subsequently abolished. Despite uninterrupted Slavic influence upon Lithuanian lasting for more than 1400 years, the latter essentially has preserved to this day the original contrast; and this is one reason why in the above comparison the Lithuanian and the Gothic paradigms look so much alike.

Another reason for the striking Gothic-Lithuanian similarity lies in the parallel development of Primitive Indo-European long *ā* and *ē* and short *o*, which became *ō*, close *ē*, and *a* both in Gothic and Lithuanian, as opposed to Primitive Slavic *a*, *je* (a diphthong like *ye* in *yesterday*), and *o*. Baltic lines up with Teutonic also in the preservation of the inherited diphthongs.

The Lithuanian distinction between long and short vowels represents by no means the unchanged Primitive Indo-European setup. Some originally long vowels got lost by diphthongization (Primitive Indo-European *ō*>Lithuanian and Lettish *uo*), others were shortened in final position under acute intonation (*-ā*>*-a*, *-ē*>*-e*, *-ī*>*-i*, *-ū*>*-u*, *-ō*>*-uo*>*-u*). On the other hand, originally short *o* (>*a*) and *e* became long in stressed syllables and received circumflex intonation, if used as monophthongs in open syllables (*ne·ša*, *na·mas*), but acute intonation in diphthongal combinations (*el*, *er*, *em*, *en*, *al*, *ar*, *am*, *an*) : *cf. ke·lti ma·lti se·mti ne·rti* and *ke·lia ma·la se·mia ne·ria*. Original *i* and *u* were not affected by this lengthening and consequently the original difference between short *i u* and long *ī ū* is preserved. The loss of the nasal consonants in final position and before *s*, with compensatory lenghtening of the preceding vowel, brought about an additional increase of long vowels (written *ą ę į ų*) in standard Lithuanian. Unless a change of intonation (metatony) took place, original long accented vowels have today acute intonation.

Here is a table of the normal vowel changes in accented syllables:

Primitive Indo-European	Primitive Slavic	Lithuanian	Primitive Teutonic
a			
o	*o*	*a*, *ā* (with circumflex)	*a*
ə			
e	*e*	*e*, *ē* (open, with circumflex)	*e* (*i*)
i	*i* (very short)	*i*	*i* (*e*)
u	*u* (very short)	*u*	*u*

Vocalic	*r*	*ir, ur*	*ir (ur)*	*ur*
"	*l*	*il, ul*	*il (ul)*	*ul*
"	*m*	*im (ę), um (ą)*	*im (um)*	*um*
"	*n*	*in (ę), un (ą)*	*in (un)*	*un*
ā		*a*	*ō*	*ō*
ō		*a*	*uo*	*ō*
ē		*je*	*ė* (=long close *ē*)	*ē*
ī		*i*	*y* (=*ī*)	*ī*
ū		*y* (a characteristic Slavic back vowel)	*ū*	*ū*
ai *oi* *əi*		*je*	*ai*	*ai*
ei		*i*	*ei*	*ī*
au *ou* *əu*		*u*	*au*	*au*
eu		*ju*	*au*	*eu*

Lithuanian and Lettish *ie* which is usually considered as a direct continuation of the Primitive Indo-European *i*-diphthongs, is in reality borrowed from the Slavic vowel system. It does not exist in Old Prussian.

If we compare the English vowel system with that of Primitive Indo-European we find it changed beyond recognition. Numerous factors, e. g., influence of consonants, monophthongization, diphthongization, breaking, and most of all mutation (umlaut) have played havoc with the inherited system. This is the main reason why the actually close relationship with the Lithuanian language is now all but obliterated.

VIII

A COMPARISON OF LITHUANIAN, LETTISH, AND OLD PRUSSIAN

As a basis of comparison for Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian we shall use the Lord's Prayer.

OLD PRUSSIAN (Text of 1561)	LETTISH (1921)	LITHUANIAN (1922)
Tāwa Noūson, kas tu essei Endangon.	Mūsu Tēvs debesīs.	Tēve mūsų, kurs esi danguje.
Swintints wīrst twais Emnes.	Svētīts lai tuop Tavs vārds.	Teesie šventas Tavo vardas.
Perēit twais Rijks.	Lai nāk pie mums Tava valstība.	Teateinie Tavo karalystė.
Twais Quāits Audāsin kāigi Endangon tijt dēigi nosemien.	Tavs prāts lai nuotiek kā debesīs tā ari virs zemes.	Teesie Tavo valia kaip danguje taip ir žemėje.
Nouson deinennin geitien dais noūmans schan deinan.	Mūsu dienišku maizi duod mums šuodien.	Kasdieninės mūsų duonos duok mums šiandien.
Bhe etwerpeis noūmas nousons āuschautins kai mes etwērpimai noūsons auschautenīkamans.	Un pieduod mums mūsu parādus, kā ari mēs pieduodam saviem parādniekiem.	Ir atleisk mums mūsų kaltes, kaip ir mes atleidžiame savo kaltininkams.
Bhe ni weddeis mans emperbandāsnan.	Neieved mūs kārdinašanā.	Ir nevesk mus į pagundą.
Schlāit isrankeis mans esse wissan wargan.	Bet atpesti mūs nuo tā l'auna.	Bet gelbėk mus nuo pikta.
Amen.	Amen.	Amen.

A glance at these texts, which are identical in meaning, suffices to make us realize that the three languages are closely related to each other and yet differ in many points. The following table presents some of the words which have identical meaning. Forms not actually occurring in the above selections, but otherwise known to exist, are given in parentheses.

OLD PRUSSIAN	LETTISH	LITHUANIAN
tāwa "father"	*tēvs*	*tėve*
nоūson "our"	*mūsu*	*mūsų*
kas "who" (relative)	(*kur'š*) (*kas* interrogative)	*kurs* (*kas* interrogative)
tu "thou"	(*tu*)	(*tu*)
essei	(*esi*)	*esi*
en-dangon "in heaven"	*debesīs*	*danguje*
swintints "hallowed"	*svētīts*	*šventas* (*šventintas*)
twais "thy"	*tavs*	*tavo* (*tavas*)
emnes "name"	*vārds*	*vardas*
rijks "kingdom"	*valstība*	*karalystė*
quāits "will"	*prāts*	*valia*
no-semien "on earth"	*virs zemes*	*žemėje*
geitien "bread"	*maizi*	*duonos*
dais "give"	*duod*	*duok*
noūma(n)s "to us"	*mums*	*mums*
schan deinan "this day"	*šuodien*	*šiandien*
mes "we"	*mēs*	*mes*
dūschautiṅs "debts"	*parādus*	*kaltes*
mans "us"	*mūs*	*mus*
ni weddeis "lead not"	*ne-ie-ved*	*ne-vesk*
em-perbandāsnan "into temptation"	*kārdinašanā*	*į pagundą*

Some meanings of this list are expressed by identical forms in all three languages (complete cognates), e. g., "thou", "we", "(thou) art", "hallowed" (O. Pr. *swintints*, Lett. *svētīts*, Lith. *šventintas*), "earth", "this day=today". Although the forms just referred to do not all look completely alike, they are all complete cognates, i. e., they all are derived from the same prototypes. Regular changes which took place in the individual languages after the disintegration of the Primitive Baltic unity account for the variations in the modern forms. Lettish has undergone the greatest number of changes. It is the least archaic, while Old Prussian is usually more conservative than Lithuanian, e. g., *essei*. On the other hand, the group of O. Pr. *swintints*, Lett. *svētīts*, Lith. *šventintas* does not represent a genuine Baltic stem. These words are passive past participles of the verb O. Pr. *swintint* "to make holy", Lett. *svētīt*, Lith. *šventinti*, which is derived from the adjective O. Pr. *swints* "holy", Lett. *svēts*, Lith. *šventas*. The three adjectives in turn were borrowed from Slavic through two different channels, O. Pr. *swints* and Lith. *šventas* going back to Polish *święty*, but Lett. *svēts* to Russian *svjat*.

In the trilingual word list given above there is one incomplete cognate common to all three languages, namely, O. Pr. *tāwa* "father", Lett. *tēvs*, Lith. *tėve*. We easily recognize the same general word stem. However, the vowel *ā* in the Old Prussian form is not of the same origin as the vowels occurring in the corresponding Lettish and Lithuanian words. A complete cognate of Lith. *tėvas* "father" does exist in Old Prussian, namely *thewis*, but its meaning is "uncle".

The following words are common only to Lettish and Lithuanian: *mūsu mūsų, mums mums, mūs mus, tavs tavas, kur'š kurs, vārds vardas*. On the other hand, we see that the Lithuanians and Old Prussians have a common word for "heaven" which is not shared by the Letts. Quite frequently identical word forms appear in two or all three languages without having identical meaning.Thus Lettish *debesīs* "in heaven" is phonetically and morphologically the same as Lithuanian *debesyse* "in the clouds", or Lettish *valstība* "kingdom" appears in Lithuanian as *valstybė* "state". Lettish *prāts* means also "mind, intellect" which is the only meaning of its Lithuanian cognate *protas*.

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IX

PHONETIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL LITHUANIAN-LETTISH SIMILARITIES

While in the preceding chapter an analysis of the vocabulary of the three main Baltic languages is given, we shall now discuss those phonetic and morphological features which are shared by both Lithuanian and Lettish in contrast to Old Prussian.

a) The Lithuanian and Lettish phonetic systems have two different pronunciations for all consonants (except *j*), a hard and a soft (palatalized) one, a distinction which is punctiliously observed, especially in the pronunciation of the two types of *l*. Judging from our none too rich material, there was only one type of *l* in Old Prussian.

b) The two East Baltic languages possess a new diphthong *ie* which is completely lacking in Old Prussian, where we find instead *ei* or *ai*, e g.,

OLD PRUSSIAN	LETTISH	LITHUANIAN
deina "day"	*diena*	*diena*
deiws "God"	*dievs*	*dievas*
snaigis "snow"	*sniegs*	*sniegas*

c) Primitive Indo-European *ā* and *ō* remain distinguished from each other in Lithuanian and Lettish, while in Old Prussian they fused into one sound (which, however, appears in several variations, according to the various Old Prussian dialects). Primitive Baltic *ā* remained unchanged in Lettish, but became *ō* in standard Lithuanian. In this respect, Lettish is more archaic than Lithuanian. Cf. Latin *māter* "mother", Lettish *māte* "mother", Lith. *moteris* "woman"; Latin *frāter* "brother", Lettish *brālis*, Lith. *brolis*. Original *ō* appears as *uo* in Lithuanian and Lettish, e. g., Latin *dōnum* "gift", Lith. *duoti* "to give", Lett. *duot* "to give.

d) Numerous morphological items, in which Old Prussian often preserves an older form, e. g.,

LITHUANIAN	LETTISH	OLD PRUSSIAN
manas, mano "my"	*mans*	*mais*
tau "to thee"	(dial.) *tau*	*tebbei*
trečias "third"	*trešs*	*tīrts*
šeštas "sixth"	*sests*	*usts*
devintas "ninth"	*devīts*	*newīnts*

X

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LITHUANIAN AND LETTISH

a) In Lettish words the main stress falls on the first syllable, while Lithuanian (and Old Prussian) has so-called free accent, as was the case in Primitive Indo-European.

b) Lithuanian inherited from Primitive Indo-European two types of intonation or pitch (musical) accent on diphthongs and long vowels, namely, the circumflex intonation (=German *Schleifton*, Lithuanian *tvirtagalė priegaidė*), and the acute intonation (=German *Stosston*, Lithuanian *tvirtapradė priegaidė*). These two types of intonation exist also in Lettish, but with somewhat different characteristics. Thus, for instance, Lithuanian acute intonation appears as circumflex intonation in Lettish, e. g., Lith. *vyras* "man" : Lett. *vīrs;* Lith. *saulė* "sun" : Lett. *saule*. Futhermore, Lettish has developed an additional (third) type of pitch accent.

c) Lithuanian (and Old Prussian) *k* and *g* before front vowels appear in Lettish (and Courish) as *c* (=*ts*) and *dz*, e. g.,

LITHUANIAN	LETTISH
kelias "road"	*cel'š*
gervė "crane"	*dzerve*

d) Lith *š, ž* : Lett. (and Courish) *s, z*, e. g.,

LITHUANIAN	LETTISH
širdis "heart"	*sirds*
prašyti "to ask"	*prasīt*
ožys "buck"	*āzis*
žolė "grass"	*zāle*
beržas "birch"	*bērzs*

e) Lith. (also Courish and Old Prussian) tautosyllabic *an, en, in, un* : Lettish *uo, ie, ī, ū*, e. g.:

LITHUANIAN	LETTISH
ranka "arm, hand"	*ruoka*
langas "window"	*luogs*
šiandien "today"	*šuodien*
penki "five"	*pieci*
minti "to tread"	*mīt*
juntu "I feel"	*jūtu*

f) Primitive Baltic *tj, dj* became Lith. *č, dž;* but Lett. *š, ž*, e. g., Prim. Baltic *svetjas* "guest" : Lith. *svečias*, Lett. *svešs*. Cf. also Lith. *vokiečio* (genetive of *vokietis* "German") : Lett. *vācieša*; Lith. *briedžio* (genetive of *briedis* "stag") : Lett. *brieža*.

g) Primitive Baltic *sj, zj* became Lith. *si, zi* (*i. e.* palatalized *s* and *z*), but Lett. *š, ž*, e. g.,

LITHUANIAN	LETTISH
siūti "to sew"	*šūt*
siauras "narrow"	*šaurs*

h) The reduction of vowels in final syllables went much farther in Lettish than in Lithuanian.

Besides those mentioned here explicity, there are many more differences between Lettish and Lithuanian. In most cases Lithuanian is more archaic and in the main the Lettish sounds and forms can be traced back to such sounds and forms which still exist in Lithuanian today.

XI

THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

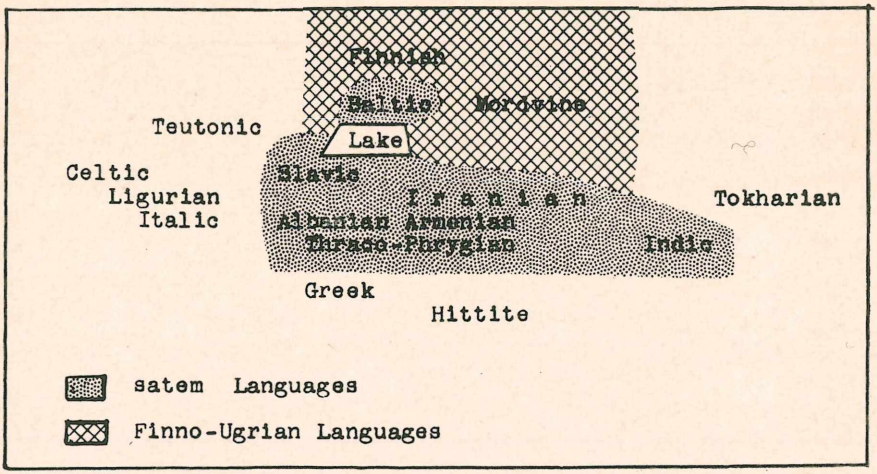
The earliest Lithuanian text, and the earliest Lithuanian document in general, is a translation of Martin Luther's Catechism by *Martinus Mosvidius* (=*Mažvydas*) published in 1547 with the title *Catechismvsa prasty Szadei, Makslas skaitima raschta yr giesmes del krikszczianistes bei del berneliu iaunu nauiey sugulditas.* With the spelling and syntax of the modern standard language this title reads : *Katekizmo prasti žodžiai, rašto skaitymo mokslas ir giesmės dėl krikščionystės bei dėl jaunų bernelių naujai suguldytas.*

All Lithuanian writings of the sixteenth century are exclusively of religious character. The most voluminous ones are the Bible translation by *Johannes Bretke* (=*Bretkūnas*), which was done 1579-1590, but not published, a Collection of Homilies (*Postilė*) by the same *Johannes Bretke,* published in 1591 and the *Postilė* of 1599 by *Mikalojus Daukša* (=*Daukšos Postilė*). For studies in the history of the Lithuanian language *Daukšos Postilė* is the most important source, for one, because it has accent marks. The language of that period differs in many respects from modern Lithuanian : longer endings (especially in the dative plural), an *adessive* case (formed by adding an enclitic *-pi* to the genetive), strong Slavic influence in vocabulary and syntax, differences in the accentuation. Essentially the same characteristics are to be found in the language of the first half of the seventeenth century as represented by *Constantine Širvydas* (1580-1631) who was the first Lithuanian lexicographer (*Dictionarium Polono-Latino-Lituanicum*) and published a Collection of Homilies (*Punktay sakimu.* Part I : 1629; Part II : 1644).

No student of comparative Indo-European grammar, who wishes to include Lithuanian in his studies. can afford to neglect the documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

XII

RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES



The Relative Locations of the Indo-European Languages
(About 1000 B. C.)

During the Primitive Indo-European period the ancestors of the Balts lived on the northern border of the Indo-European language area. They touched in the east on the Mordvines, (a Finno-Ugrian tribe), in the south on the Pre-Slavs, in the north on Finnish tribes, and in the west perhaps (but only at the earliest stage) on the Pre-Teutons. Later the Balts became separated from the other Indo-Europeans by a large lake (which is now dried up) and a large impenetrable marshy country, the present-day bogs of White Russia. The Baltic people settled to the northeast and north of that lake, between Vilnius (Vilna) and Moscow, while the Slavs had their homes between the lake and the Carpathian Mountains. The only direct neighbors of the Balts were now Mordvines and Finns.

A great number of very old Baltic loanwords in Finnish, taken over between 1000 B. C. and 500 B. C., testify to a very lively intercourse. On the other hand, it is astonishing to find only a few Finnish loanwords in Lithuanian, e. g., *laivas* "boat". This suggests that most of the Baltic loanwords in Finnish

are not due exclusively to normal neighborly relations, but rather that many Balts, perhaps a whole tribe, must have settled among the Finns and were then assimilated. In the meantime the Slavs had expanded eastward and then came northward around the lake; and about 300-200 B. C. Balts and Slavs became neighbors once more. The Slavs being very aggressive and stronger, the Balts retreated to the west, into lands inhabited by the Finns, until they reached the Baltic Sea. The Balts were not the only ones who conquered Finnish territory. A second invasion came from the west along the shores of the Baltic Sea. Here the Teutonic Goths pressed eastward, and with a united effort Balts and Goths succeeded in pushing the Finns out of East Prussia. But even today scattered place-names (e. g., *Palwe, Kakschen, Samland*) bear witness that the land was once inhabited by Finns. Since the Lithuanians constituted the easternmost Baltic tribe, they did not come in direct contact with the Finns. The Balts who invaded Finnish territory were Old Prussians, Couronians, and Letts.

The Lithuanians did not get in direct contact with the Goths, because the Old Prussians were between them. Consequently there is only a very small number of Gothic loanwords detectable in Lithuanian, e. g., *midus*, "mead", *yla* "awl", *gudas* "White Russian" (originally "Goth"). All these Gothic loanwords came into Lithuanian through Old Prussian mediation.

In the Middle Ages we see a Lithuanian dynasty build up a powerful state. But this state was exposed to White Russian cultural influence, just as in the eighteenth century the powerful Prussian state was influenced by French culture. The main reason, however, for the White Russian influence in the Lithuanian Grand Duchy is to be sought in the fact that the Grand Duchy, although ruled by a Lithuanian dynasty, comprised far more Slavs than Lithuanians. White Russian was the administrative language of that composite state. In the eleventh century the Lithuanians became first acquainted with the Christian doctrine through White Russian missionaries. A great number of ecclessiastical terms in Lithuanian are of White Russian origin and date back to that missionary work of the Russian Orthodox Church. The White Russian language

left also a strong imprint in the system of Lithuanian surnames. Surnames like *Klimas, Grigas, Grinius* go back to the Russian Christian names *Kliment* "Clement" and *Grigorij* "Gregory".

White Russian influence was first contested toward the end of the thirteenth century by the Order of the Teutonic Knights who had taken possession of East and West Prussia. In 1283 and 1284 Lithuania was the first time invaded by a German army; and this was the first *direct* contact between Lithuanians and Teutons in general. German influence lasted for about a century. During this period the Lithuanians accepted from the Germans the word *kunigas* which first meant "prince" (from it came the derivative *kunigaikštis* "prince, duke"), but later, under Polish influence, came to be used for "priest".

German influence in Lithuania Major was definitely broken in 1386, when Grand Duke Jogaila (Jagiello) of Lithuania married Queen Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Poland and brought about the Lithuanian-Polish alliance and opened the country to Polish influence. The process of Christianization and Westernization received a new impetus through direct contacts with Rome. Latin became the language of higher education and began to influence the Lithuanian vernacular. Latin dominated life and culture of the educated Poles and Lithuanians and has left a permanent imprint on vocabulary, word structure, and syntax. It is quite possible that many phenomena in Lithuanian syntax which have hitherto been regarded as part of the Indo-European heritage are in reality borrowed from Latin.

From 1422 on, German influence was limited to Lithuania Minor or Prussian Lithuania and the frontier region, especially in Samogitia. From East Prussia the stork-name *gandras* (cf. Eng. *gander*) penetrated into Samogitia. However, since Courland and Livonia (present-day Latvia and Estonia) were also dominated by German knights, some German influence is also noticeable in the northern regions. In the northeast of Lithuania we find the stork-name *starkus* or *starkas* which goes back to German *Storch*. The part of Lithuania called Suvalkija was again exposed to direct German influence from 1795 to 1807, when it was part of the State of Prussia and was called New East Prussia (*Neu-Ostpreussen*).

In the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century the Lithuanians came in contact with the Swedes who may have had some influence on the Lithuanian vocabulary. The word *gatvė* "street" is of foreign origin and its geographical distribution points toward the north as place of origin. It may be Swedish.

During the eighteenth century, Russian power increased rapidly and incessantly, and in 1795 Lithuania came definitely under its domination. From that time on the Lithuanian language was exposed to both Polish and Russian influence, because Polish language and thought still were propagated through the Church and the Nobility. Russian influence entered through the state administration, the schools, the police, and the army. A reaction against all foreign influence arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century and gradually awakened the entire nation. The language was now purged of Slavic elements which were called "barbarisms"; and at the beginning of the twentieth century we find a pure and refined standard language based on the dialect spoken in northern Suvalkija. During the national revival period, contact with Lettish was consciously sought. Thus the word *liaudis* "common people, the masses" was borrowed from that sister language. Also the names of the weekdays were changed according to the Lettish pattern. To be sure, the older Slavic names (*panedėlis* "Monday", *utarninkas* "Tuesday", *sereda* "Wednesday", *četvergas* or *ketvergas* "Thursday", *pėtnyčia* "Friday", *subata* "Saturday", *nedėlia* "Sunday") have not yet completely vanished. Among the Lithuanian immigrants in America they are generally used. However, the new forms by which the days are numbered (*pirmadienis*, "the first day=Monday", *antradienis, trečiadienis, ketvirtadienis, penktadienis, šeštadienis, sekmadienis* "seventh day =Sunday") have already won the fight in the old country.

Modern Lithuanian is not completely free of foreign elements, but neither is any other language. Moreover, those loanwords which are retained look so characteristically Lithuanian that it is difficult to detect their foreign origin. We thus witness an amazing vitality of this conservative language, a vitality enabling it to assimilate completely even recent ac-

quisitions. Lithuanian is most of all a youthful language, a fact which is usually overlooked because the scholars are overawed by a few striking archaic features.

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